

Message Text

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INFO AMCONSUL ADANA

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AMCONSUL IZMIR

AMCONSUL NAPLES

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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USDOCO SACEUR

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 1443

BERLIN FOR TUOHY

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SUBJECT: ATLANTIC COMMUNITY TOUR - POLITICAL GUIDANCE

REF: ANKARA 1194 DTG 130938Z FEB 76

1. THE PARTICIPANTS IN THIS TOUR ARE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT OF THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES OF TURKEY -- THE JUSTICE PARTY (JP), WHICH IS THE MAJOR PARTNER IN THE PRESENT COALITION GOVERNMENT, AND THE REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (RPP), WHICH HAS A PLURALITY IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (THE LOWER HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT.) THEY HAVE BEEN CHOSEN IN COOPERATION WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE TWO PARTIES AND ARE WELL REGARDED IN THEIR OWN PARTIES. THEY ARE MEN OF IMPORTANCE AND THEY NOW HAVE AND WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE INFLUENCE ON THE POLICIES OF THEIR PARTIES.

2. ALTHOUGH THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY WILL VARY SOMEWHAT BECAUSE OF THEIR PARTY AFFILIATIONS (THOSE OF THE CENTER RIGHT JP ARE GENERALLY MORE FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO TURKEY'S ROLE IN NATO THAN THOSE OF THE LEFT OF CENTER RPP), THE PARTICIPANTS WILL SHARE CERTAIN ATTITUDES ABOUT THE ALLIANCE BECAUSE THEY ARE TURKS. FOR EXAMPLE, TURKEY'S GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION ON THE PERIPHERY OF THE COMMUNITY RESULTS IN A CERTAIN AMBIVALENCE ABOUT THE VALUE OF THE ALLIANCE. THEY ARE ACUTELY AWARE THAT THEIR RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL HERITAGE IS DIFFERENT FROM THAT SHARED BY THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE. THEY ARE UNEASY ABOUT THEIR ROLE AND UNCERTAIN OF THEIR ACCEPTANCE AS FULL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY. THEY ARE THEREFORE CONCERNED THAT THE ALLIANCE MIGHT NOT BE AS RESPONSIVE IN THE DEFENSE OF TURKEY AS IT WOULD IN THE CASE OF OTHER MEMBERS.

3. THIS UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE COMMITMENT OF THE U.S. AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE TO TURKEY'S DEFENSE IS COMPOUNDED BY THEIR CONVICTION THAT DETENTE FURTHER REDUCES THE LIKELIHOOD OF STRONG ALLIED DEFENSE OF TURKEY. TURKS GENERALLY BELIEVE THAT WHILE THE LESSENING OF TENSION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION REDUCES THE DANGER OF SOVIET AGGRESSION, IT ALSO ERODES THE CREDIBILITY OF THE U.S. NUCLEAR UMBRELLA.

4. AN ISSUE WHICH WILL BE VERY MUCH ON THE MINDS OF THE PARTICIPANTS IS THE U.S. ARMS EMBARGO. TURKS ASSERT THE
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EMBARGO IS A HOSTILE ACT INCONSISTENT WITH THE ALLIANCE. MOREOVER, THEY MAINTAIN THE U.S. IS UNJUSTIFIED IN CONDITIONING ITS FULFILLMENT OF ALLIANCE COMMITMENTS ON TURKISH ACTIONS IN CYPRUS. REGARDLESS OF THE MERITS OF THESE ARGUMENTS, REHASHING THEM DURING THE TOUR WOULD NOT BE PRODUCTIVE. MOREOVER, THE VISIT OF TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL TO WASHINGTON HAS BEEN RESCHEDULED FOR MARCH 24-25. THIS VISIT WILL MARK A CRITICAL JUNCTURE IN U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS AND IN TURKEY'S FUTURE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ALLIANCE. HOPEFULLY QUESTIONS

ON THIS SUBJECT CAN BE FORESTALLED UNTIL MARCH 26 BY THE SIMPLE DEVICE OF SAYING WE HOPE THESE ISSUES WILL BE RESOLVED BY THE CAGLAYANGIL VISIT. THE RESPONSE AFTER MARCH 26 WILL DEPEND ON THE RESULTS OF THE TALKS.

5. TURKS WILL ALSO BE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN

A) THE THREAT TO TURKEY

B) THE ROLE OF GREECE IN THE ALLIANCE (THE REGARD GREECE AS RECEIVING FAVORED TREATMENT FROM THE ALLIANCE. THEY WILL WANT TO KNOW HOW LONG GREECE WILL CONTINUE TO ENJOY THE BENEFITS OF THE ALLIANCE WITHOUT FULFILLING THE COMMITMENTS.)

6. USEFUL THEMES:

A) TURKEY IS AN INTEGRAL MEMBER OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY -- THE WEST CONSIDERS IT PART OF THE WEST.

B) THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY IS A VITAL INSTITUTION. IT IS NOT STILL FIGHTING THE COLD WAR, BUT AT THE SAME TIME THE COMMUNITY HAS CONTINUED RELEVANCY DURING THE PERIOD OF DETENTE.

C) DETENTE IS A FACT OF LIFE BUT IT HAS ITS LIMITATIONS (E.G. ANGOLA). WHILE IT CAN REDUCE TENSIONS, IT DOES NOT REMOVE DANGERS, AND IT CANNOT EXIST AT ALL UNLESS WE REMAIN STRONG.

7. AS NOTED ABOVE, THE ATTITUDES OF THE PARTICIPANTS
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TOWARD THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY WILL VARY WITH PARTY AFFILIATION AND INDIVIDUAL OUTLOOK. ACCEPTANCE OF THE INVITATION IMPLIES A LESS THAN HOSTILE ATTITUDE. NEVERTHELESS, PROBING AND SOMETIMES BITTER QUESTIONS SHOULD BE ANTICIPATED. WE BELIEVE THE MOST EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO SUCH QUESTIONS IS A DIRECT AND POSITIVE ONE. UNBRIEFING OFFICERS SHOULD NOT HESITATE TO POINT OUT THAT DESPITE THE ALL TOO APPARENT PROBLEMS OF THE ALLIANCE IT IS STILL AN EFFECTIVE COLLECTIVE DEFENSE SYSTEM WHICH BENEFITS ALL MEMBERS.

8. SPECIFIC GUIDANCE FOR SOME KEY VISITS FOLLOWS:
IZMIR: POST HOPES GROUP WILL HAVE OPPORTUNITY TALK WITH GENERAL ZAIS WHO HAS BEEN ESPECIALLY EFFECTIVE WITH SIMILAR GROUPS, AND WHOSE DISCUSSIONS OF THE THREAT TO NATO'S FLANKS PARTICULARLY RELEVANT.
NAPLES: POST DELIGHTED TO ACCEPT SIXTHFLT'S GENEROUS OFFER OVERNIGHT VISIT SARATOGA. WILL CHANGE GROUP TRAVEL RESERVATIONS TO PROVIDE FOR DEPARTURE FROM NAPLES 10:25 A.M.

MARCH 20. POST HOPEFUL THAT RADM NICHOLSON AND STAFF WILL HAVE TIME FOR MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS SOVIET THREAT IN MEDITERRANEAN AS THIS ONE OF MAIN THEMES OF VISIT.

BERLIN: OVERALL CONSIDERATIONS OF DETENTE NOT WITHSTANDING, IT IS VITAL TO THE SUCCESS OF THIS TOUR THAT PARTICIPANTS LEAVE BERLIN WITH RENEWED SENSITIVITY TO RADICAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPEAN SOCIETIES, FORECLOSURE OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL OPTIONS, WHICH BEST REPRESENTED VISUALLY BY WALL, VISIT TO EAST BERLIN. CLEARLY IT IS NOT THE POST'S INTENTION TO REKINDLE ATTITUDES WHICH IN THE WANE IN TURKEY AS ELSEWHERE, BUT AS TURKISH LEADERS AND PUBLIC OPINION DISCUSS NEW POLICY OPTIONS IT IS IMPORTANT TO PROVIDE THIS GROUP WITH LEGITIMATE BUT DRAMATIC EVIDENCE OF NEGATIVE IMPLICATIONS OF ONE OF THOSE OPTIONS.

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